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was still a bachelor and why Banana had acted so impulsively and thereby gotten himself in the bad graces of the elders. The two men were the eldest of four brothers without any full sisters and as such they were necessarily handicapped in their career struggle. Elders seeking satellites or contemporaries seeking allies looked askance at men without sisters, for such men could have no sisters' daughters to use in the marriage-arrangements struggle. The mother of Tiberun and Banana was dead, but even were she still alive, few men would have been interested in marrying a widow whose only living children were sons. Widows without daughters and bachelors without sisters rated very low in the scale of desirable assets sought either by elders or by contemporaries. 159 554 [557] [582] [581]

Tiberun was thus the only bachelor in the 30-42 age group. Of the remainder we select Teapot as an example of another man who failed to get started. Teapot was at least 35, and about seven years previously he had "stolen" a wife from an elder. This wife was no ancient and shop-worn widow like the wife Banana had "stolen," but a young girl who had been betrothed in due form to an elder by her father. How Teapot had managed to get away with her is too complicated an incident to unravel here, and in any case it hadn't done Teapot much good. After presenting Teapot with a baby boy the young woman died, and Teapot, with a now six-year-old son, was more or less an outcast among the Malaula. No elder wanted him as a satellite and none of his contemporaries wanted him as an ally. His mother was dead and his only sister was married to a Munupula elder. This sister in Munupi was his only asset and one which a different man might have used as a means to better himself. But Teapot, instead of using this small asset to get started on a career, had chosen to defy the rules and "steal" an elder's bestowed wife. "Stealing" an old widow was reprehensible conduct in the eyes of the elders; stealing a young bestowed wife was unforgivable. Hence Teapot, since his crime, had received no bestowal, had been able to marry no widow, and was wanted by no one as an ally. 169 554 626

A complete contrast to these two unsuccessful men in their thirties was provided by the case of Gitjara, who was about the same age as Tiberun. Gitjara, it is true, had sisters, and that was always a help. Using his sisters (already married and bearing children to an elder) as bait, Gitjara when he was about 28 proposed an alliance to L. F. B., a rather feeble man about five years older than himself, who was not doing very well in the influence race. The gist of the proposal was that, since both their mothers were still alive and each married to an old man who could not last much longer, Gitjara should marry the ancient mother of L. F. B. when she became a widow, and L. F. B. should marry Gitjara's mother when that old lady became a widow. Perhaps the idea originated with the two old women rather than with either of the young men. Since such arrangements were essentially plots or schemes, it is impossible to determine who conceived them in the first place—old women ambitious to aid their sons or young men ready to use their mothers as long-term gambits to ultimately provide themselves with young wives. Mother-exchange operations were probably first conceived at high-level strategy con- 159 557 562 584

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182 relatives, soon caught up with them. Several cases of such elopements occurred
 583 during the period of fieldwork, including the case of one young couple (Peanut
 and Jumbo's wife) who made repeated attempts to elope over a period of
 [62] several years. But despite the relaxation of standards that white contact had
 brought, as long as they remained on the islands these violators of the system
 were soon forced back into conformity by outraged public opinion and its
 punitive sanctions. Unless he fled to the mainland with his girl, the young
 bachelor who stole an old man's young wife had to restore her sooner or later
 to her rightful husband. Under pre-white conditions they could not flee to the
 mainland; if they tried, they both probably drowned on the way or at least
 were never heard of again.

182 Thus the isolation of the Tiwi made the rule of the gerontocracy much
 691 more absolute, and the enforcement of it much more effective than was possible
 for any of the mainland tribes where violators of the rules could skip across
 the border. Tiwi bachelors had to be satisfied, by and large, with casual and
 temporary liaisons and even in these, because of the constant suspicion of the
 old husbands and the constant spying and scandalmongering of the old wives,
 they had to be prepared to be often caught and, when caught, to be punished.
 [578] Thus we come to another of the main emphases in Tiwi culture—the enormous
 frequency of disputes, fights, duels, and war parties arising directly or indirectly
 out of cases of seduction. If we may call this area of life the legal area, then
 over 90 percent of legal affairs were matters in which women were in some
 way involved.

627 THE DUEL The Tiwi formula for handling seduction was very
 684 straightforward and clear-cut in its formal outline. Since senior men had young
 wives and young men had not, seduction was necessarily viewed as an offense
 by a young man against a senior man. Hence the charge was always laid by
 the senior and the younger man was always the defendant.¹ At night in camp
 the accuser hurled his charges at the offender. We described earlier the alter-
 natives available at this stage to both parties. Two of those alternatives were
 for the old man to press the matter to a public "trial," either the next day, if
 the camp was already a large one, or else on the next occasion when both men
 were present in a big gathering.

The basic shape of all Tiwi trials was standardized in the form that we
 have been calling the duel. Everybody present—men, women, children, and
 dogs—formed a rough circle in an open space, sitting or standing according
 to their degree of excitement at the moment. At one end stood the accuser,
 [302] the old man, covered from head to foot in white paint, with his ceremonial
 411 spears in one hand and a bundle of the more useful hunting spears in the

¹ Under pre-white conditions this had to be so. After the arrival of the Catholic missionaries, some young men through Mission manipulation got a young wife at an age that would have been impossible earlier. This resulted in an occasional case around the Mission where a young husband charged a man older than himself with seducing his wife. The resulting duel, with an older man as defendant, was regarded by the Tiwi as both embarrassing and ludicrous, perhaps analogous to the average American's attitude toward female professional wrestlers. (See Hart 1954 for a case of this sort, the duel of Bob v. Louis.)

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other. At the opposite end stood the defendant, with little or no paint on him, perhaps holding a hunting spear or two in his hand (a sign of insolence), perhaps holding only throwing sticks (less defiant, since the stick was an inferior weapon more appropriate to young men), or perhaps entirely weaponless (a sign of proper humility and the deference to his seniors that all bachelors ought to show in such situations). The accuser, with many gestures, particularly with much stamping of the feet and chewing of the beard, told the young man in detail precisely what he and all right-minded members of the community thought of him. This angry, loud harangue went into minute detail, not only about the actual offense, but the whole life career of the defendant, and paid particular attention to occasions in the past when the old man even remotely, or some of his relatives, even more remotely, had performed kindnesses toward either the young man or some of his relatives. It is difficult to summarize briefly one of these harangues, but the general formula, subject to much variation by each individual accuser, appeared to be the building up of as much contrast as possible between the criminal or antisocial character of the young man's actions and the fact that he was a member of a network of interpersonal relationships in which mutual aid and reciprocal obligations were essential. The Tiwi orators, of course, did not put the matter in such abstract terms. They listed the long catalogue of people who had done things for the young man since his birth, and for his ancestors and relatives, until the catalogue took in practically the whole tribe—past, present, and future. And what had he done to repay his obligations to all these people? "Why, the miserable, ungrateful wretch spends his time hanging around my camp, etc., etc. And not only my camp, but last year it was widely believed that he was indulging in similar actions around the camp of my esteemed fellow-elder, So and So." We do not think that we are overintellectualizing the content of these harangues if we say that they involved the old man's reminding the young man of his debt to society, and his attempting to convey the idea that social life needed mutual aid and trust between all its members.

After twenty minutes or so of this sociological abuse and blame pinning, the old man threw aside his ceremonial spears and began to throw his hunting spears at the defendant. This active phase of the duel conformed to a stereotyped pattern which in some respects resembled baseball. The old man stood about ten feet farther away from the young man than the pitcher stands from the plate. The young man had to avoid being hit by the spears. To do this he was permitted to jump from side to side or into the air, or to duck, but he was expected always to land on approximately the same spot as he had been standing on when the first spear was thrown. Thus there was no marked strike zone, but an implied one. If the accused jumped well away from the strike zone, he was jeered by the crowd. If the old man was wild, he was jeered too, but more respectfully. Under such rules a modern baseball hitter, having no bat in his hand to worry about, would almost never be hit by a pitched ball, and the Tiwi young men were similarly never likely to be hit by an old man's spears. The main danger was the spear that pitched in the dirt. Although clearly outside the strike zone and hence an indication that the old man was

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627 really wild, such a spear was apt to carom off the ground at an unexpected angle
684 and inflict a severe wound before the spectators (as collective umpires) had time to call it—in which case the duel was over and the accused was punished.²

626 Apart from those that unpredictably deflected off the ground, or even
688 off a neighboring tree, the young man could dodge the old man's spears indefinitely if he wanted to. He was much younger and hence almost invariably in much better shape than the older man. But if he did this, the old man soon began to look a little ridiculous, and Tiwi society thoroughly disapproved of young men who made old men look ridiculous in public. Continued dodging and jumping and weaving of the body, no matter how gracefully they were done, were not prolonged by any young man who hoped in time to become a respected elder himself. The elders in the last analysis controlled bestowals, and holding one of them up to public ridicule was sure to antagonize all of them. So the young man, having for five or ten minutes demonstrated his physical ability to avoid being hit, then showed a proper moral attitude by allowing himself to be hit. This took even greater skill in bodily movement. Trying to lose a fight without making it too obvious to the crowd and without getting hurt too much oneself is a problem that confronts some professional athletes in our own culture, and few of them do it with as much skill as the younger Tiwi in the same situation. A fairly deep cut on the arm or thigh that bled a lot but healed quickly was the most desirable wound to help the old man inflict, and when the blood gushed from such a wound the crowd yelled approval and the duel was over. The young man had behaved admirably, the old man had vindicated his honor, the sanctity of marriage and the Tiwi constitution had been upheld, and everybody went home satisfied and full of moral rectitude. Seduction did not pay.

183 This was the Tiwi duel as it ideally should be conducted, and in per-
627 haps as many as two-thirds of all such disputes it was so conducted. Divergences
684 from this form clearly arose from the unpredictability of human beings and their fondness for trying to exercise choice instead of following a set pattern. Though the dice were heavily loaded against them, some Tiwi young men chose defiance instead of repentance. There were various avenues of defiance open to them. The mildest was to refuse to allow the old man's spears to hit the target. Slightly more brazen were the young men who turned up at the beginning of the duel with throwing sticks or hunting spears in their hands, even though they used these not to throw but to knock aside contemptuously the spears of the old man. More brazen still was the young man, rare but not unknown, who went so far as to throw missiles back at the older accuser. All such attempts to defy the traditional pattern of the duel met with the same response, and that very quickly. The duel began as usual with the two antagonists facing one another inside the circle of spectators. As soon as it became apparent that the young man was not conforming to the normal pattern of meekness and nonretaliation, there would be immediate activity on the

² Two cases of broken legs below the knee within six weeks of each other in 1928 give some indication of the force with which such badly aimed spears would bounce off the ground.

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571 he had arrived there as a member of a large war party. This situation stemmed
 602 from the coexistence, on the one hand, of the intricate web of kinship that
 628 united everybody present and made the problem of who would support whom
 unpredictable enough, and, on the other, the intricate network of deals and
 promises and personal alliances and obligations that every senior Tiwi man
 had woven inside the kinship system. A Tiwi elder did not, for example, have
 one category of relatives called his mother's brothers; he had at least three
 different categories of mother's brothers. There were those mother's brothers
 who had given him nothing, those who had given him wives, and those who
 had promised him a wife but were dragging their feet on delivery, or even
 trying to renege on their promise. In pressing a case against one of this third
 category, an elder might quite conceivably alienate some of his mother's
 brothers of the second category. Nor could he be sure of the support of even
 his own brothers, since they were certainly cultivating, and possibly under-
 cutting him with, the same donors of daughters as he was involved with.
 Perhaps the nondelivery, which was the whole basis of his case against the
 mother's brother, had been instigated by his own brother trying to engineer a
 rebestowal of the girl to him. Because of the two networks, that of formal
 kinship obligations and that of marriage deals, two Tiwi seniors engaged in a
 dispute had no impartial body to whom they could submit their arguments
 about breach of contract. Disputes between a young man and an elder could
 [674] be submitted to the publicly witnessed duel, since these were not breaches of
 contract but cases of trespass by the young men, and as such were crimes.
 [626] Impartial public opinion upheld the old men and punished the young men
 every time. The old men's arguments with each other, however, could not be
 [686] so adjusted, since they involved marriage deals (as distinct from seduction)
 and in marriage deals everybody was involved and nobody was impartial.
 [557] Where any senior stood on any marriage deal in dispute depended on how that
 deal fitted into his own conniving. In that area of life, every adult man had
 his own axes to grind and a disinterested group of umpires was impossible to
 find.

628 Thus Tiwi battles had to be the confused, disorderly, inconclusive
 576 things they always were. They usually lasted all day, during which about
 two-thirds of the elapsed time was consumed in violent talk and mutual abuse
 between constantly changing central characters and satellites. The remaining
 third of the time was divided between duels involving a pair of men who threw
 spears at each other until one was wounded, and brief flurries of more general
 weapon throwing involving perhaps a dozen men at a time, which ended
 whenever somebody, even a spectator, was hit. As a result of this full day of
 violence, perhaps a few of the cases would be settled that night—by a father
 handing over his delayed daughter, or a man with a disputed wife relinquishing
 her to her rightful husband—but when the war party left next day to return
 home, the number of cases settled was likely to be less than the number of
 new feuds, grievances, and injuries that had originated during the day of battle.
 For not only did the participants carry away from the battlefield a vivid
 memory of all the physical wounds, intended or accidental, inflicted by whom

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once erected on the grave; the names of dead people immediately became *pukimani* on their deaths and could not be used, and the same was true of all the names bestowed by a dead man on the children of his household and all the other words in the language that sounded similar to the name of the dead man.⁶ All ceremonials and rituals were *pukimani* as were the main performers and the armlets, neck ornaments, and other ceremonial objects. People in a *pukimani* state had to observe all sorts of avoidances of and abstentions from everyday actions, particularly with regard to food and sex. Close relatives of dead people could not touch food but had to be fed by nonmourners. That pillar of rigid orthodoxy, Tu'untalumi, was virtually never able to feed himself but was in a *pukimani* state almost the whole year round and needed one of his wives to feed him. (Another advantage of a large household.) Certain spots in the bush or on the banks of streams were *pukimani* places; the dimly seen outline of the Australian coast was *pukimani* as was the ocean near Cape Keith where the Tiwi ancestors had first created the Tiwi world; and finally, the violation of a *pukimani* restriction rendered the violator *pukimani*. 784
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Pukimani as thus applied to people, places, things, names, words, restrictions, and avoidances, meant both sacred and taboo, and was clearly one of that widespread class of words and concepts that is almost standard among the simpler societies. The only noteworthy thing about its Tiwi form is that *pukimani* was a state which people did not actively seek to enter but which happened to people regardless of their wishes. Furthermore, when a man found himself in a state of *pukimani*, his behavior was automatically prescribed for him and for the duration of his *pukimani* condition he observed his avoidances and his abstentions just as automatically as he dropped them when his *pukimani* period expired. When he became *pukimani*, he punctiliously fulfilled the requirements because if he did not, he was likely to be unsuccessful in his enterprises. Big men simply did not dare to be casual about the requirements lest their reputations suffer and they lose face and influence. Less successful men were occasionally explained as probably being secret violators. "His wives and daughters all seem to die young; he must have broken some *pukimani* restrictions sometime" was a reason often given for somebody's failure to be as successful as he might have been. It was noticeable in such explanations of nonsuccess that the failure, or in our terms the bad luck, was attributed to the violation of the taboos, never to the active displeasure of the spirits. The spirits simply did not figure in the picture. 784
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Apart from the big ceremonial occasions, a Tiwi did not have much concern with religion in his everyday life except through some aspect of the *pukimani* system. It was only through *pukimani* that the sacred world impinged upon him at all for most of the year. Since *pukimani* was a condition that could not be actively sought but "just happened" to a person every so often by such common events as the death of a relative, his wife giving birth, or his 771
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⁶ When a man named Tibuki died in 1928, a crisis occurred at the Mission where the natives were supposed to make their requests in pidgin English. How could they now ask for subucco, since that word was now *pukimani*? [797
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[77] sister's son being initiated, the attitude of a Tiwi toward the whole *pukimani*
 [78] state was essentially a passive attitude. *Pukimani* behavior was something one
 accepted and conformed to when required; it was in no way an active attempt
 to change nature, people, food, gods, spirits, or anything else in the universe.

[81] It is therefore not unreasonable to conclude that since their *pukimani* system
 offered them no handle by which to seek actively to alter the universe in which
 they lived, the Tiwi found that universe to their liking as it was. Unlike the
 tribes of central Australia who lavished a lot of thought upon magical methods
 of improving the food supply or the rainfall, the Tiwi believed and acted on
 the belief that as long as they observed their *pukimani* taboos, the food would
 continue to be as abundant and the rains as regular as they had always been.

[171] The central Australians, by seeking to coerce nature through magic, suggest
 that they found nature unsatisfactory; the Tiwi, by relying upon passive taboo-
 observance alone, suggest rather that their relationship to nature was an
 acceptable equilibrium that they wanted to preserve, not change. And if every-
 body observed his *pukimani* taboos when required, that equilibrium would
 remain undisturbed. Hence the antisocial man in Tiwi was not the maker of
 individual magic (he was unknown, anyway) but the nonobserver of taboo.
 By his nonobservance he threatened to upset the normally satisfactory equilib-
 rium between man and nature. For a senior Tiwi male to be charged publicly
 [62] with breaking *pukimani* rules was a disgrace and a blow to his prestige and his
 position in public opinion. His behavior was possibly a sin against the spirits
 but it was certainly a shame in the eyes of his fellows. *Pukimani* observance
 was thus a matter of respectability to a much greater degree than it was a
 matter of pleasing the spirits.

765 DEATH As was mentioned above, death is the natural phenomenon
 around which the Tiwi had woven their most elaborate web of ritual. The most
 frequent and most important Tiwi ceremonies were the mourning ceremonies,
 [55] and they came in three sizes—small, medium, and large—depending on the
 [56] age, sex, and importance of the dead person. The mourning ceremonies which
 [56] drew the crowds were not held until some time after the death and burial.

764 All bodies of dead persons were buried within twenty-four hours of their death
 by digging a hole near the camp where the death had occurred and placing
 the body, wrapped in bark, in it. Near most well-used camping spots there
 was already a graveyard marked by old graveposts, and the latest corpse was
 buried there or near there. Seldom was the body carried any distance for burial.
 If a person died even less than a mile from an old burial ground, there was
 little inclination to carry the body that far. He would be buried, instead,
 within perhaps a hundred yards of where he died. This had certain awkward
 repercussions for social organization, since occasionally a person died while
 away from his home district and, being buried where he died, his ceremonies
 were held and his posts erected in a district in which his immediate family
 [591] did not live. Young men often used this to validate a change of residence,
 giving as their reason for living in a band territory in which they had not
 grown up, the location there of their father's graveposts.

764 of *Pukanimkuri's* wife, *Nulatsini*, which I saw, the general pattern was similar. I shall, however, describe both burials, that of *Nulatsini* being the more detailed.

(1) *The Burial of Waniamperi*

On the day that *Waniamperi* died, *Marawant*, one of his near relatives, who wanted the dead man buried near his mother, paid a young "worker"²² a sum of money and two loin cloths to dig the grave.

When the corpse was brought to the burial ground, a number of relatives had a last look at the dead man before he was laid on a series of logs, placed transversely across the bottom of the grave.

This act was a signal for concerted mourning, the women beating themselves with sticks and the men cutting their heads. For personal safety it is imperative that each man and woman show excessive grief, real or feigned, otherwise the *mopaditi*, annoyed at the lack of grief, will make the offending person ill.

After the mourning died down, the "workers" placed boughs on the body and filled in the grave, leaving a small mound on top (Pl. 24c).

[533] While this work was being carried out, the relatives stood on one side of the grave, either singing the *amburu*, the mourning song, or the rain song of Wailu, the totem of *Tiparawilimiri*, *Waniamperi's* father. To the chanting [535] of this song, the men acted the rain dance (Pl. 30a). The aborigines did not stage the totemic dances or chant the songs belonging to the fire totem of *Wuriupi* (*Waniamperi's* own totem), because, to have done so, would have especially attracted the attention of his *mopaditi*.

The "workers" laid *Waniamperi's* personal belongings at the base of a tree (Pl. 24d), tied his loin cloth and tobacco to the top of a thin sapling which had been driven into the ground at the head of the grave, made a large fire, and left a container of water.

[775] The aborigines believe that the *mopaditi*, seeing his belongings near at hand, water to drink and fire to warm himself and cook the food he gathers in the surrounding forest, will stay near the grave until the time comes for him to leave the locality.

While the "workers" were engaged on those tasks, the rest of the burial party quietly left, not looking behind, lest the *mopaditi* follow them to their camp.

[767] ²² These "workers" or *wanaras*, being distant relatives of the dead, are in little danger from the *mopaditi*. Therefore, it is safe for them to clean the site, dig the grave, handle the body, and carry out other tasks associated with burial. They are paid for their work by the chief mourners at the final *pukanuni* rituals.

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During this performance an old man, *Nalauri*, *Waniamperi's* brother, 765
 reprimanded, in the native tongue, a group of young aborigines for not 626
 taking a more active part in the *pukamuni* rituals.

"Don't hang around there like a mob of whites," he said. "If you're standing while there's a dance, beat your buttocks, or if you're sitting, either clap your hands or beat the ground with a stick."

At the conclusion of the Melville Island performance, the Bathurst 533
 Islanders continued the songs and dances in their own *milimika* (Fig. 4a), 539
 about *Purujikini* and the first *kulama*. 765

The leader, *Jibunglialumi*, chanted how, at the first *kulama*, *Purujikini* said to his companions, "I'll give you the songs, then you'll dance about the things around you." As he did so, *Nangrinini* performed the dance of the turtle. "Then as the next song was being chanted," *Purujikini* said, "you will cook the *kulama*." Another man picked up a *pukamuni* basket, and, calling "brr, brr, brr" (as they do in the *kulama* ceremonies), emptied the supposed contents on the ground in imitation of pouring out the *kulama* yams preparatory to putting them in the earth oven (p. 137). *Jibunglialumi* then followed with the dance of the owl man, *Purujikini*, with his hands held around his eyes (Pl. 39a), ending his dance with "Ah, oo, ah, oo", the call of the present-day boobook owl.

The Melville and Bathurst Island groups then moved from the distant to the grave side of their burial poles (Fig. 4) and performed the *pumuti* rituals. On this occasion, however, only husbands and wives beat each other.

The *pumuti* was followed by *Urumatjina* from Melville Island, chanting a song he had composed for the occasion which described how the dead man, *Waniamperi* had become involved in a fight at a *pukamuni* ceremony.⁸⁰

Some men, listening intently to *Urumatjina*, joined in as soon as they had learned the song, while others performed the dance miming the action of men fighting.

Another part of the same song told how a woman, *Purpurangmio* (since dead) loudly abused the men because so many of them attacked her husband at one time. To add reality to the performance, *Urumatjina* pounded the side of a *pukamuni* basket with a stick to indicate the noise made by the angry woman (Pl. 26b).

The theme of the songs then returned to the *kulama* ceremony. As some 765
 men chanted, others laid sheets of paper-bark on the ground, and to the *kulama* thunder-call they imitated the actions of rubbing the *kulama* yam on

⁸⁰ This is the same fight as the one enacted in the Bathurst Island *ilania* on the previous day (p. 83).

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On the morning of the appointed day, the women went into the jungle, dug up a large number of both species of yams, brought them back to camp, and prepared them for cooking. 881

In the meantime, the male and female *Marukumuni* initiates had been sent to an appointed place in the jungle and told to wait until some of the *Mikigulas* visited them in the late afternoon. In the meantime other fully initiated men were painting the *Wadjeniasi* initiates with a new body design (Pl. 42x).

In the late afternoon some members of the *kulama* party went to the place where the *Marukumuni* initiates were hiding, painted them black (Pl. 42x), and put new cockatoo feathers in their hair. While this was being done the male initiates pulled out their pubic hairs, and calling out "Booh-booh", threw them in all directions. When the decorations were complete, each initiate singed the hair from his legs but not his face, head or arms.⁸³ It is believed that this *Marukumuni* ritual assists in creating more thunderstorms and so prolonging the wet season. 302 881 [821]

Meanwhile, the remainder of the higher grades of the *kulama*, the *Mikigulas*, the *Mikistarinias* and the *Mikintaras* with their female counterparts, went into the forest and, cutting the bark of the milk-wood tree (*Alstonia* sp.) used the white sap to paint their shoulders and faces, and to make a line down the centre of their abdomens. The men also put thick sap on their beards, which made them stand out stiffly around their faces.⁸⁴ 881 [386] [824]

By the time the *Marukumuni* initiates had been decorated, brought back to camp and seated behind a low screen of boughs, the edible yams were cooked and ready for eating.

The leader, taking one of the *juruguni* and one of the *karawani* yams, bit a small portion from each, chewed it up and spat it in all directions. His actions were repeated by all the fully initiated people. The aborigines believe that the portions of chewed-up yam make the *mopaditis* so sick (they are always present to watch the *kulama* rituals), that they leave the locality. All the *kulama* people, with the exception of the *Marukumuni* and *Wadjeniasi* initiates then sat down to a meal of the edible yams. [775] [824]

The male initiates of the *Marukumuni* and *Wadjeniasi* grades were given their food by the female initiates of their grade in the same manner as a *putumuni* man, i.e., the food was placed in their mouths, it must not touch any part of their body. If this taboo were broken, the *mopaditis* would make them ill. [753] [626]

⁸³ The female initiates do not carry out this ritual.

⁸⁴ Spencer, 1928, p. 660, Pl. 463, who refers to this phase in his description of the *kulama* illustrates the decorated men.

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how a slow canoe journey had made him late for a recent *putamui* ceremony. 177

(b) "I was sick in the Darwin hospital. Sister Philips said it was because 533
I had had too much grog." 539 881

(c) "There was a man at Cockle Point (opposite the Bathurst Island Mission), who wanted to kill me with a spear. So I changed myself into a mullet and he didn't see me."

Another singer chanted,

(a) "I am a goose and a man cast his throwing stick and hit me." 533

(b) "I want that girl from Bathurst Island to wash her with fresh water so 539
make it square for giving away my sister." 881

Another *Mikingula*, *Palitara*, aired his differences with a woman, *Batali*, in the following song.

(a) "I fed *Batali*, but she did not give her daughter to me as a wife."⁸¹

(3) *Collecting the Kulama Yam*

Early on the following morning, the *Mikinarinas*, *Mikintaras*, the 881
Mikintarinas and *Mikingulas*, went to the ceremonial ground of the previous evening. They first dipped their hands in a bark container filled with water, throwing some over their bodies; then, taking a mouthful, they squirted water into the air in imitation of rain, afterwards calling out "Oom-oom", to symbolize thunderstorms. Taking two small sticks, one in each hand, the men used them to clean the wax from their ears, afterwards standing the sticks upright in the ground.⁸² [515]

Placing their palms on a sheet of bark covered with white paint, the men patted their hair, chest, wrists and pubes (Pl. 44c), turning toward the north as they again called out "Oom-oom", in imitation of thunder.

Following this ritual, each *kulama* man painted another with a design in white (Pl. 421). The leader then picked up the bark basket, held it on his arm, and facing north, south, east and west, again called "Oom-oom", while he made a drum-like sound, symbolical of thunder, by hitting the basket with his hand. After this the men set out to collect the *kulama* yams. They were

⁸⁰ I did not find out the significance of this ritual.

⁸¹ When a woman promises her daughter to a man, it is the duty of the future son-in-law to give her continuous presents of food. On this occasion, the woman had accepted *Palitara's* gift, but when her daughter was old enough, she gave the girl to another man. [584]

Quarrelling at a *kulama* ceremony is forbidden, otherwise *taini*, the *kulama* sickness, will destroy all the participants. This prohibition allows an aboriginal, such as *Palitara*, to air his grievances without causing a quarrel, even though, as on this occasion, the defusing person was present. [626]

⁸² The meaning of this ritual is obscure. According to the aborigines it prevents trouble and quarrelling during the *kulama* rituals. [753]

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HERBERT BASEDOW.—Notes on the Natives of
BATHURST Island, NORTH AUSTRALIA

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[562] mainland, it will be remembered, are with preference postponed until after night-fall. The women were not permitted to take part in the proceedings, but were, indeed, kept at some considerable distance off. Youths and male children were allowed to join in the ceremonies without apparent restriction. When we met with men, hunting in the bush, and they had been convinced of our *bona fide* intentions, they would approach us in groups of from two to four, and deliver up their long
[302] spears to us. Several of the young men would, in the meantime, run into the woods as messengers to summon others who were as yet unaware of the presence of the strangers in their haunts.

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527 A corroboree¹ having been decided upon, the signal or invitation to take part in the event is sounded by two or three of the older men, who have previously arranged it among themselves. This initial note is a long-drawn, continuous yell resembling the German diphthong *ö*! Other members immediately fall in with the same note and are joined, at intervals, by others excitedly rushing up to take their stand alongside of those who started the call. The monosyllabic "*ö*" is kept continuous by the combined efforts of many voices, each of which individually expires for a moment, after the lungs' capacity for air has been completely exhausted. The note is, however, taken up again immediately after a fresh supply of air has been inhaled. The weirdness of the monotone is suddenly broken by the powerful voice of the "master" of the ceremonies, who brings forth a penetrating, but abrupt, order resembling "*wahoi*." This is instantly and collectively repeated by all others present. A momentary silence follows and allows the sombre trunks of the surrounding forest to reiterate the final word in ringing echoes.

The leader once more gives the note; this time in a slightly modified form resembling a long-continued "*ye*," that merges imperceptibly into a "*yi*." A sudden shrill "*wahoi-hoi*" brings that note also to a stop. A deadly silence prevails.

527 The primary appellation now being over, the performers congregate themselves into a compact group. In the meanwhile much excited vociferation ensues from every mouth, young as well as old. At this stage their eyes make a survey of any neighbouring encampment and if, by chance, a likely performer is noticed who has not heeded the appeal and is shirking his duty by non-attendance, he is furiously implored, at times abusively, to join the assemblage of performers. The leader now emerges from the group at a walking pace and is followed, in single file, by all participants, each in his turn falling into regular order as though his place had previously been allotted to him. The course taken by the leader is a winding one; walking, at first, some distance away from the point of starting but returning
527 eventually thereto. The musical accompaniment is started afresh, and though not
533 exactly melodious to the European ear, it is certainly a remarkably clever and original production on the part of the aboriginal. The nearest way we might describe it in words is that it is in the form of a trill, produced by a rapidly repeated

548 by the Japanese issue, since it tempted the conservative with several wives to
 598 violate all the old tribal sanctions by renting out his wives, and it provided
 648 the Mission adherent radicals with a grand opportunity to pose as the real de-
 668 fenders of the old culture and to charge the old polygamists with being the real
 797 renegades from the ancient ways.

159 It can be easily guessed how high feelings ran on these issues and how hotly
 177 they were debated when a number of Tiwi gathered together. But on neither
 797 of these issues or on any aspect of them did Antonio show any signs of leader-
 ship. He accumulated wives but always apologized in a rather deprecating
 and apple-polishing way when he met the missionaries, and spent part of his
 time hanging around the Mission despite the contemptuous attitude which
 the missionaries adopted toward him. He thus contrasted very unfavorably
 with some of his contemporaries, notably one Dooley who, having been for
 years a one-wife man and a Mission favorite, inherited a second wife at around
 the age of forty. Dooley's decision was clear-cut and highly spectacular. He
 accepted the second wife, shook the dust of the Mission station from his feet
 and never set foot near it again, taking up again the traditional life of a Tiwi
 elder, deep in the bush, with his two wives and later additions, ignoring all
 white innovations, even tobacco.⁴ Dooley's uncompromising behavior was
 greatly admired by the tribe but few had the strength of character to emulate
 him, certainly not Antonio.

159 On the Japanese issue Antonio was just as vacillating. Prodded by others
 to make a statement he would in ringing tones denounce as disgraceful and
 scandalous the behavior of the Yelmpi wife-renters, but on his visits to the
 Yelmpi country ostensibly "to see for himself what was going on" he shared
 eagerly in the proceeds of vice which his friends there offered him and was even
 heard on a few occasions to wonder aloud why the Japanese always went to the
 Yelmpi country when there were plenty of secluded beaches in the Ulaulla coun-
 try. Instantly challenged, "Would you want the Japanese to come here?"
 "Would you rent your wives to them if they did?" poor Antonio quickly turned
 it into a feeble joke, saying deprecatingly, "Oh no, no, no. I just wondered
 why they always go to those ugly Yelmpi women?"

[55 7]
 [62 6] In summary we might say that Antonio's personal behavior appeared to
 be that of a man pushed into a position rather too big for him to fill. He was
 not by nature particularly aggressive or domineering, but as the eldest son of
 Turimpi he was constantly being pushed by public opinion onto the center of
 the stage, whereas he would have been much happier if public opinion had
 left him alone to be an ordinary, average member of the crowd. The role he
 was called on by his status position to play seemed to give him little or no
 pleasure, little or no personal satisfaction. Such a view of his "personality"
 is supported by the fact that when alone in the bush with his own family and
 away from the society of his peers Antonio was relaxed and at ease. As Durk-
 heim pointed out, the basic factor in Australian social psychology is that men
 spend a great part of their lives hunting and collecting in the bush, completely
 out of physical contact with all people except members of their own households,

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of the oldest and most respected seniors, particularly of Tu'untalumi and those swayed by his opinion. It follows from this that Tip though given to jokes and pranks cannot be written off as merely a privileged buffoon. On the contrary his wit and gaiety earned him friends and his friends gave him influence out of proportion to his youth. Some insight into this is supplied by the shadow of the ubiquitous Louis. Tipperary, through the missionaries' efforts on behalf of monogamy, had obtained a wife at a much earlier age than would have been possible under pre-white conditions, and according to the women, who have their own sources of information about such things, Louis was strongly attracted by Tipperary's wife. Since Louis was not noted for restraint or self-discipline in these matters the obvious question was why he did not press his attention on her as he had done on numerous other women, including the wife of Tip's younger brother Bob. "Oh no, he doesn't dare chase after Tipperary's wife. The old men would be very angry if he did anything to her," was the reply of the old hags who were the local gossip columnists. This belief that the "old men" would undoubtedly protect Tip's wife while they had noticeably failed to protect Bob's wife from a similar threat (see below) is a pretty clear indication that the two young men had very different places in tribal estimation—a fact that in turn can be correlated with no status differential between them and leaves only the "personality" difference between the two men to account for it. Tip was popular with the control groups, Bob was not, therefore the control groups would support Tip because they liked him. They were indifferent toward Bob.¹⁰

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To summarize Tipperary is relatively easy. He was a cheery, relaxed, fun-loving young man who enjoyed his own humor but enjoyed it all the more if it were shared by an appreciative audience. He was therefore gregarious, friendly, outgoing and extroverted. He would have been a good Rotarian or a better disk-jockey. Because of these traits he was noticed a great deal more by his elders than his age justified and the notice he received was usually favorable. He was popular in a way none of his brothers were, and because of this popularity was able to express opinions and exert influence to an extent unusual for one of his years. In a society where men under 30 are expected to be seen and not heard, Tip was constantly being heard. This was only possible because his natural gaiety and warmth prejudiced almost everybody in his favor. He was the sort of man about whom it is often said in our culture "he always makes a party go," or, "he is the sort of person who just naturally makes friends."

BOB

[144]

The youngest brother, Bob, needs only two words to describe him—complete nonentity. About 27 or 28 when I knew him and, because of the Mission's efforts, married a good deal younger than he would have been under pre-white conditions, Bob, whatever the occasion or circumstances, was always part of the background. Like many of the younger Tiwi he was inclined to spend part of each year in Darwin working for the white men, and by them he was regarded as a good, willing, obliging and respectful worker.

HART]

The Sons of Turimpi

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leads to the situation—quite foreign to our way of thought and also apparently to that of Polynesian cultures—whereby a young bachelor can prow around the bush all night without arousing the slightest interest but his daytime wanderings, ostensibly in search of game, are watched by his married seniors with the deepest suspicion.

* The buffalo, which are confined to Melville Island, are the wild descendants of domestic East Asian water buffalo which were imported during an early attempt at settlement.

* It is perhaps not without interest that one of Tip's jokes is imperishably preserved in the files of the Peabody Museum at Harvard. Tip was in Darwin in 1927 when W. Lloyd Warner was collecting at the Native Compound the anthropometric measurements which were afterwards analysed by W. W. Howells (1937), and like all other natives in town from many tribes he and a number of Tiwi were measured by Warner. On the card for each subject Warner wished to record the personal name of the native. Laid by Tip, all the Tiwi measured bestowed upon themselves the most obscene "native name" they could think of, and years later Tip would shout with laughter when telling how Warner faithfully recorded these obscenities, often repeating them several times to make sure of the correct pronunciation.

"This set of sentiments surrounding Tip's wife also gives a little more insight into the sex activities of Louis. His reluctance to move in on her, because of the way "the old men would feel," while showing no such reluctance to move in on Mrs. Bob, supports the view implied above that Louis, while sex dominated, was no fool in his amours. He had an intelligent and realistic appreciation of just how much he could get away with.

"I use this slang term deliberately, since it expresses somewhat the Tiwi attitude toward those young bachelors who go about seducing the wives of their elders and betters.

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Fig. 2. Dolly. The painted necklace is her ornament for the day.

was the increasing flocks of geese flying over to the east of us to their feeding grounds in the fresh-water swamps at the head of the Paluwiunga River. Since the Superintendent of the settlement had a plan to build a permanent camp for future crocodile hunts near this very spot, this seemed an ideal time for all concerned to make a trip to this area.

As there was a shortage of water transport (only four dug-out canoes and one small motor launch), the main group of twenty men, women, and children was taken in the canoes across Snake Bay the day before and left to "foot-walk" along the coast to the Paluwiunga. The Superintendent and his son went ahead in the

115 motor launch and I followed the next day in "number one" canoe
123 with my chosen companions. I had originally invited my chief
informant Dolly and her husband Malony, but they had had a
"proper row" a few nights previously and weren't speaking. Dolly
would have come alone because the object of this row, her boy-friend,
• [626] Billy-Two, was going, but public opinion was too strong in view of
[837] the very recent objection by her husband, and she begged out of
the trip. In their place the choice of Albert and Agnes was obvious.
They had been close associates of the expedition and of mine since
our arrival. They were a young couple in their early twenties, but
recently married, and very much in love—there would be no complicating
boy-friend problems with them. But above all, Albert loved to hunt and he was a good man to be with in the bush. He
115 was a quiet, serious young man and very modest about his accomplish-
156 ments. Because of this he was not a good informant for native
lore or customs; he would always refer us to the old men who
knew much more than he. However, he was a conformist to these